

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 112336

EXDIS-CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY, GENEVA FOR MAYNES AND BARRY

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 01732 ACTION SECSTATE  
MAY 1.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 01732

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, UNSC, WA, SF, TZ

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SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH TANZANIAN  
FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA

SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING DRAFT SUMMARY OF THE SECRETARY'S  
DISCUSSION ON NAMIBIA WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER  
MKAPA IN NEW YORK APRIL 30 IS TRANSMITTED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW AND FURTHER DISTRIBUTION AS DESIRED.  
END SUMMARY.

1. SECRETARY VANCE MET TTT ABOUT AN HOUR APRIL 30 IN NEW

YORK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA OF TANZANIA. ALSO PRESENT ON THE TANZANIAN SIDE WERE UN PERMREP SALIM AND A NOTETAKER, AND ON THE AMERICAN SIDE AMBASSADOR YOUNG, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP, AMBASSADOR MCHENRY AND POLMIN PETREE.

2. THE SECRETARY OPENED BY ASKING MKAPA DIRECTLY WHERE HE THOUGHT THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM STANDS. MKAPA SAID WE HAVE TO GET THE SPECIAL GA SESSION ON NAMIBIA OUT OF THE WAY, AND THEN HE THOUGHT THE FIVE MUST HAVE MORE TALKS WITH SWAPO AND REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CONCERNS WITH THE WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT SWAPO HAS RAISED. THE SECRETARY PRESSED FOR AN INDICATION OF WHAT MUST BE AGREED, AND MKAPA REVERTED TO THE USE OF THE TERM "CLARIFICATIONS" RATHER THAN NEW AGREEMENTS, MENTIONING WALVIS BAY AS A PRIMARY EXAMPLE.

3. SECRETARY VANCE SAID CLARIFICATIONS WERE FINE WITH THE U.S. HE SAID WE HAVE TOLD SAM NUJOMA WHAT WE CAN SAY ABOUT WALVIS BAY, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO SAY IT PUBLICLY. WE CANNOT STATE THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA, AS NUJOMA DEMANDS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EMPHASIZED THAT WE CANNOT GRANT ANY FURTHER CHANGES  
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IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON THIS OR OTHER POINTS, BECAUSE WHILE EVERYONE SEEMED CONTENT TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA HAS BEEN DETERIORATING. WE FEAR THAT CONTINUED TALK IN THE FACE OF FIGHTING IN NAMIBIA WILL PERMIT THE SITUATION TO DEVELOP SO NOBODY CAN AGREE ON A SETTLEMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT POSSIBLY FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS SHOULD EMERGE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE.

4. MKAPA SAID UNDER THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WE WOULD WIND UP WITH AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA MINUS WALVIS BAY. IT IS IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE MOVES PROPERLY, SO THE COMMITMENT OF THE WESTERN POWERS, PARTICULARLY THE U.S., IS CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT. SECRETARY VANCE REASSURED MKAPA THAT THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO A RESOLUTION OF THE WHOLE NAMIBIA PROBLEM, INCLUDING WALVIS BAY. HE ASSURED MKAPA THAT WE INTENDED TO FOLLOW THE PROBLEM ALL THE WAY TO SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE STATEMENT WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE. HE RECALLED THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HIMSELF HAD INDICATED THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN ISSUE THAT MUST BE NEGOTIATED, AND WE BELIEVE HE IS FULLY AWARE THAT IT MUST BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

5. AMBASSADOR YOUNG ASKED MKAPA WHAT THE REAL PROBLEMS ARE BARRING SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN OUR PAPER MAY NOT

BE THE CENTRAL CONCERNS OF SWAPO. IF THE PLAN WERE PUT INTO EFFECT AND THE UN ROLE IMPLEMENTED, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE CAUGHT IN AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS LEADING TO ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE AND WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO NEGOTIATE THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY. HE SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT CONSIDER ASSURING SWAPO THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA MOVED TO CLOSE THE PORT IN WALVIS BAY OR OTHERWISE USE THE ISSUE AS LEVERAGE OVER NAMIBIA WE WOULD CONSIDER CHAPTER VII ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.  
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6. MKAPA SAID SWAPO WORRIES ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF THE WESTERN FIVE ON WALVIS BAY. HE SAID IT WAS THE VIEW OF HIS GOVERNMENT THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION MUST SUPPORT THE NAMIBIAN CASE ON WALVIS BAY IN SOME FASHION.

7. THE SECRETARY URGED THAT IF OUR EFFORT FALLS APART OVER WALVIS BAY OR ANY OF THE OTHER ISSUES, IT WILL BE A DISASTER, WITH BLOODSHED FOR MANY AND PERHAPS NOT ANOTHER CHANCE FOR US TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. IT WOULD BE SAD AND FOOLHARDY TO PERMIT THE EFFORT TO FALL APART ON SUCH ISSUES. MKAPA AGREED, AND SAID WE THEREFORE MUST FIND SOME FORMULATION TO RESOLVE WALVIS BAY. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID NUJOMA'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY STATEMENT ON APRIL 28 CONTAINED A LOT OF UNTRUE NONSENSE, BUT WE WERE ENCOURAGED THAT HE APPARENTLY DOES NOT WANT TO CLOSE THE DOOR ON A SETTLEMENT. OUR PROBLEM IS THAT IF WE GRANT HIM FURTHER CONCESSIONS IT COULD BREAK DOWN THE DELICATE AGREEMENT WE HAVE WORKED OUT. MKAPA AGREED THAT WALVIS BAY SEEMS TO BE THE KEY ISSUE ON WHICH WE NEED TO FOCUS SOME FORM OF REASSURANCE TO SWAPO ON THAT IS THE PRINCIPAL REQUIREMENT NOW.

8. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OBSERVED THAT NUJOMA WANTS ADDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE CAN MEET AND PROVIDE CLARIFICATIONS OF THE TERMS OF THE PROPOSAL, WE CANNOT CHANGE ONE LINE IN THE PROPOSAL AT THIS STAGE. SALIM INTERJECTED THAT HE AGREED WALVIS BAY IS THE KEY, AND SAID WHETHER SAM NUJOMA CALLS THE MEETINGS "NEGOTIATIONS" OR NOT MAKES LITTLE DIFFERENCE. HE SAID IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT LANGUAGE CLARIFYING THE AGREEMENT THAT WOULD SATISFY THE SWAPO NEEDS. REFERRING TO SWAPO  
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CONCERNS ABOUT THE POWERS OF THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, HE SAID NUJOMA DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE CONCEPT OF NEGATIVE VETO THAT IS BUILT INTO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. THE SECRETARY RECALLED THAT HE HAD MADE THAT POINT TO SAM IN HIS MEETING IN WASHINGTON APRIL 27.

NUJOMA SEEMED IN THAT DISCUSSION TO BE STUCK ON WALVIS BAY AND THE PLACEMENT OF THE 1,500 RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE SECRETARY SAID AFTER HIS EXPLANATIONS ON THE INSIGNIFICANCE OF THE TROOP PLACEMENT ISSUE, NUJOMA APPEARED TO RELAX ON THAT ISSUE SOMEWHAT, LEAVING WALVIS BAY THE ONLY SERIOUS PROBLEM.

9. SALIM SAID HE WAS CONVINCED SWAPO CONCERNS COULD BE MET BY EXPLANATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. HE MENTIONED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SWAPO WORRIES ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE REMAINING IN OPERATION WOULD BE FULLY MET BY PLANS FOR TWO-MEN-IN-A-JEEP. ONLY WALVIS BAY POSES A PROBLEM, AND SALIM SAID THAT QUESTION HAS TWO ASPECTS: ONE IS THE DEGREE OF WESTERN COMMITMENT TO RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM IN NAMIBIA'S FAVOR; ON THAT, SALIM THOUGHT IT UNREASONABLE FOR SWAPO TO SEEK TO DICTATE THE LANGUAGE THEY WOULD ACCEPT FROM THE WEST, BUT THE EXPRESSION OF CREDIBLE COMMITMENT IS STILL A REQUIREMENT. THE SECOND ASPECT IS THE SCENARIO LEADING TO A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. HE SAID IT WAS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO ALL AFRICANS TO CONTEMPLATE THE SECURITY COUNCIL REACHING A DECISION ON NAMIBIA WITHOUT CURRENT REFERENCE TO THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE. HE SAID HE HAD NO CONCRETE THOUGHTS ON HOW TO DO THIS, BUT HE THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE. IT DEPENDS MOST OF ALL ON GOOD FAITH AND TRUST ON BOTH SIDES, WHICH WOULD TEND TO MAKE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE LESS IMPORTANT. HE RECALLED THAT IN DAR ES SALAAM NUJOMA HAD SAID HE WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH A U.S. COMMITMENT; SALIM SUGGESTED THAT IF WE WERE TO MAKE A STATEMENT UNDERSCORING OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMITMENT TO ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND INCLUDE SOMETHING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION IT SHOULD MEET SWAPO CONCERNS. HE NOTED THAT NUJOMA FACES SOME LEGITIMATE PRESSURES ON WALVIS BAY, PRINCIPALLY FROM ADHERENTS WITHIN NAMIBIA. HE ADVISED THAT WE AGREE TO GO OVER ALL OF THESE POINTS ONCE MORE IN ANOTHER MEETING -- OR MORE, IF NECESSARY -- AND LET SWAPO TERM IT "NEGOTIATIONS" IF THEY NEEDED TO. HE URGED THAT THE WESTERN FIVE NOT GIVE UP THEIR EFFORT ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS AT THIS LATE STAGE. SECRETARY VANCE GENERALLY AGREED THAT WE MUST PERSIST, BUT HE SAID WE MUST REFER ONLY TO "CLARIFICATIONS" OR WE RISK LOSING SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HAS BEEN DRIVEN A LONG WAY IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. SALIM NOTED THAT SWAPO IS ALWAYS SAYING THEY WANT MORE TALKS; HE ASKED WHY THE MEETINGS COULD NOT SIMPLY BE CALLED "TALKS" BY ALL CONCERNED.

10. THE SECRETARY ASKED MKAPA FRANKLY HOW THE ANGOLANS FEEL ABOUT THE WESTERN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE NAMIBIAN

QUESTION. MKAPA SAID ANGOLA, FIRST OF ALL, IS A HOST COUNTRY FOR THE SWAPO MOVEMENT AND THEREFORE FEELS ITSELF IN A SOMEWHAT AWKWARD SITUATION. HE GUESSED THAT ANGOLA WOULD IN THE END GO ALONG WITH ANY AGREEMENT SATISFACTORY TO SWAPO, INCLUDING WALVIS BAY AND THE TROOPS. SALIM ADDED THAT ANGOLA NO DOUBT MUST BE CONCERNED THAT IT NOT APPEAR TO BE TOO EAGER TO "DUMP" THE TROUBLESOME PROBLEM OF SWAPO. HARROP ASKED IF MKAPA BELIEVED ANGOLA REALLY WANTS A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. MKAPA SAID HE BELIEVED THEY DO.

11. MKAPA ASKED HOW MUCH TIME WE HAVE TO SETTLE NAMIBIA QUESTIONS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SPECULATED THAT, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE MAY HAVE UNTIL THE SPECIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. THE SECRETARY SAID ONE COULD ONLY SAY TIME IS LIMITED AND SHORT.

12. SALIM SAID THE WESTERN FIVE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS CRUCIAL TO TIE UP LOOSE ENDS WITH SWAPO BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO OPEN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO A NAMIBIAN DEBATE. HE OBSERVED THAT NOT EVERYONE WANTS A SETTLEMENT. SECRETARY VANCE PICKED UP SALIM'S VAGUE REMARK TO REPORT THAT HE HAD CALLED THE SOVIETS IN TO THE DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON AND TOLD THEM THAT THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE PARALLEL INTERESTS IN NAMIBIA. A FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT AND A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS BOUND TO AFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE TWO NATIONS HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR TIES. IF THE SOVIETS WANT THAT IMPROVEMENT TO CONTINUE, WE MUST HAVE MOVEMENT IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

13. SECRETARY VANCE CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION BY RECAPPING THE APPARENT AGREEMENT OF THE GROUP THAT WE ARE ALL ON THE SAME TRACK. HE SAID THE WESTERN FIVE WOULD MEET WITH NUJOMA LATE MONDAY, MAY 1, AND ARRANGE FOR FURTHER TALKS WITH HIM AND PERHAPS HIS GROUP FROM LUSAKA TO FURTHER CLARIFY OUR POSITION ON THE VARIOUS POINTS OF CONCERN. HE STRESSED, IN PERSONAL REMARKS, THE DIRE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES IF WE FAIL THIS TIME IN WORKING WITH A LIBERATION MOVEMENT TOWARD A FREE AND FAIR POLITICAL TRANSITION OF POWER. HE SAID FAILURE MIGHT MEAN WE WOULD NOT HAVE THE CHANCE AGAIN SOON TO IMPLEMENT OUR PRESENT KIND OF POLICY. YOUNG UNQUOTE VANCE

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